1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves.

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized.

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Auetí, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area.

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries.

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein;

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172/, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[287] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/154 cont./

000 B W 101 361 103 harpy village. Then, on the right bank, comes the village of the Nahuquá. Again on the left, somewhat apart and not visited by us, there is a fourth village of the Bakaïrí. Farther downstream the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ are on the left bank in the two villages which the Bakaïrí designated as Paischuéti (dogfish village) and Kalûti. It seems, however, that there are three villages; the Paischuéti-Mehinakú also spoke of the Yutapühü -- this would be "Kaluti" -- whose harbor we passed on 15 October, of the Atapilú, and at the same time warning us against the Ualapihü, Ulavapitü, that is, our Yaulapiti. From the Mehinakú territory there begin numerous canals, which, along with several lagoons, are found throughout the region between the lower courses of the Kulisehu and Batovy. The village of the Auetö may be regarded as a sort of central point for the canal traffic.*

B W 487 A [36]

A [101]

* It is really strange that their name seems to have this meaning. They are called "Auitï" by their neighbors; now in Guaranï the unsoftened adjectival form apité means "what is at the center, in the middle."

B W 101 361 On two lagoons, in two villages, we find the Yaulapiti, on a third lagoon the Kamayurá /Camayura/, who had four villages close together and were on the point of uniting them into a single one. The Arauitï (see p. 94) are a mixture of Yaulapiti and Auetö.

T 101 361 167 The Kulisehu flows into the Kuluëne; a few hours of rowing led to the Trumaï settled in two villages on its right bank not far above Schingú-Koblenz. This tribe, driven away by the Suyá, had the intention of founding a new home near the Auetö.

Y 361 103 101 The Nahuquá live upstream on the Kuluëne, and also on small tributaries between it and the Kulisehu, in a series of villages that have separate names. We become acquainted with single individuals from the Guapirí, Yanumakapü, Guikurú /Kuikuru/, and Yaurikumá; the Yanumakapü, the Enomakabihü of the Bakaïrí, do not live on the main river, and of the Guapirí the Bakaïrí specifically pointed out that they are found overland between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne.

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
660 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
●101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

T 101 197 /156 cont./ and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin, just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B 197 From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B 197 101 131 /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakairí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion; countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it; there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

B 197 101 131 /158 cont./ The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes, the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B [191] On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

B 101 171 197 361 Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):

Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

B 101 171 197 /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes," which correspond merely to nine different independent villages, we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

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/159 cont./
and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

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Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

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In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

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* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

SP8 Bororo
Trumai SP23
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25

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[501]

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kuluseu, between the Anahukua and Mehinaku ports. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them.

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

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The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kuluene: Kuyahó (Kayapó); Kaviji; Turi; Maritsava; Phoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Penehoko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suya; Tsuruna; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tonali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

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The Kalapalu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kuluene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kuluene, the Siuya (Suya) and Tsuruna (Juruna); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkotl, Turi, Jaruma, Tumbilyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alitsowa, Aiiva, Yahã, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpitsu (kill people), Tahulgi (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

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Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Anahukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoemen were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuva, Kuikutl and Kalapalu, the first being Tupi and the last three Caribs; but the Paravute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi,